2: Schaden--07 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/81 cont./

apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning, under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously -- and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the village of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not infrequently, sells the produce: with the money he buys some clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence, working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law, on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him /82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupation about finding a "legal substitute": the person more often indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away: the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.